# HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

NATIONAL·AMERICAN·WOMAN·SUFFRAGE·ASSOCIATION

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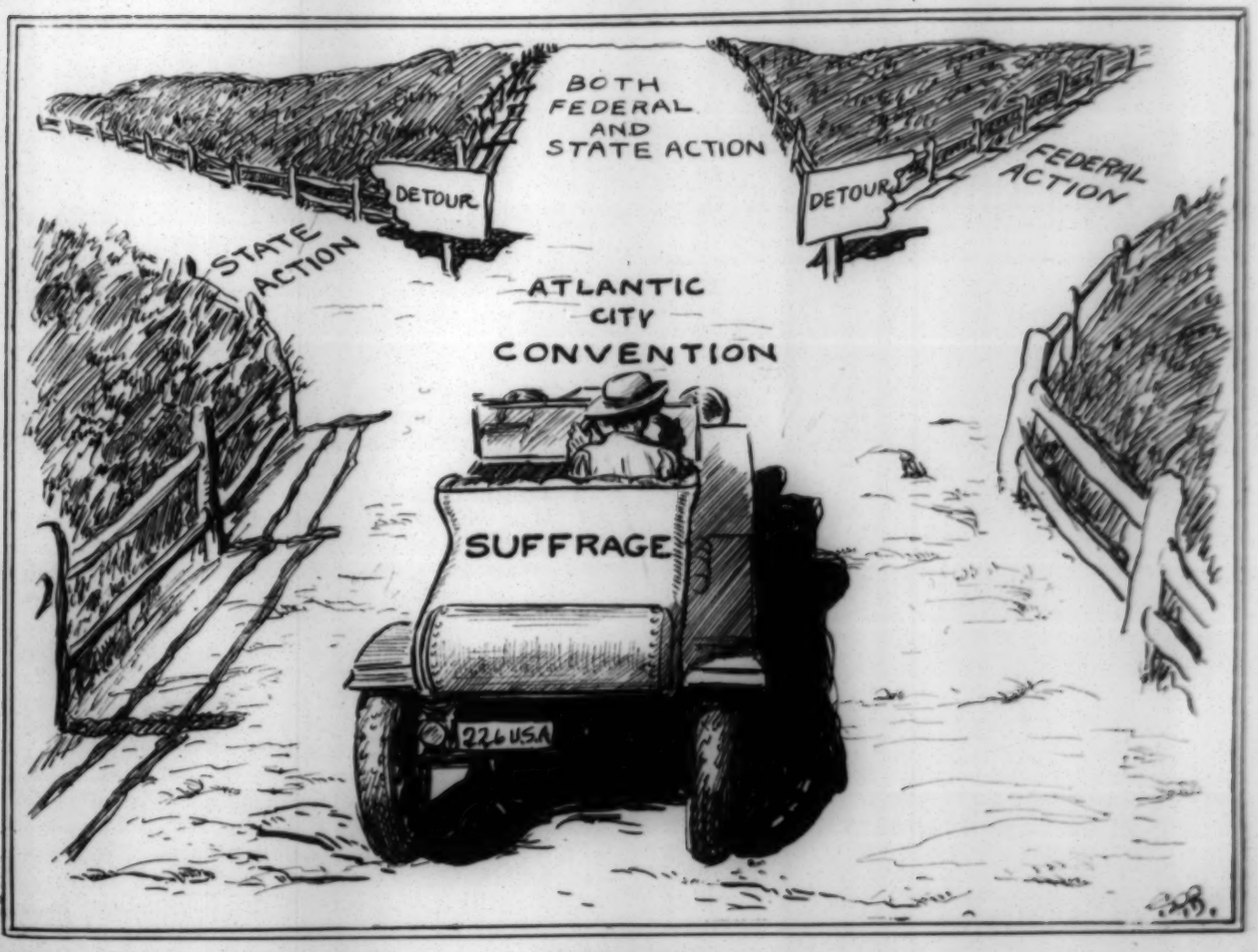


WHICH?

JAN 30 1917




## HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

*A printed attempt to maintain intimate contact between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its thousands of members throughout the country.*

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**National American Woman Suffrage Association**

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MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING

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**Congressional Committee**

*Headquarters:*
Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.


—:o:—

# THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Every presidential candidate for President is a suffragist. On July 17th, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse and I visited Mr. Hughes. He gave us a very frank, candid talk and told us that as a candidate for President he felt he had no right to read into the National platform a meaning which obviously was not there. He could not therefore announce himself favorable to the Federal Amendment inasmuch as the National platform did not so express itself. He gave us to understand, however, that after his letter of acceptance had been given to the public he should feel free to make a further statement as to his personal attitude and that this would include an endorsement of the Federal Amendment. This statement, as is well known, was given out the day after the letter of acceptance.

On August 1st, Mrs. Frank M. Roessing and I called upon President Wilson. He also was frank and candid and in no sense evasive in his comments on Woman Suffrage. He gave us the impression as did Mr. Hughes that he was a sincere and honest believer in the enfranchisement of women. Mr. Wilson, however, shares the opinion of many of his party leaders that Woman Suffrage is not a suitable question for federal action. All the candidates for president of the minor parties have endorsed the Federal Amendment. We have therefore a condition which never before occurred in the United States. Every presidential candidate believes in Woman Suffrage. All of them believe in the Federal Amendment except one. It is my personal opinion that Mr. Wilson and many of the leaders of his party may be persuaded to believe in the Federal Amendment when they have had more opportunity to reflect upon the causes which more and more are driving the women of this country to look to federal action for relief. At any rate, he was deeply impressed by our statements concerning the difficulties of securing honest elections when our question is submitted to the popular electorate.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

—:o:—

## WYOMING'S CONTRIBUTION.

Wyoming, the first state in the Union to grant suffrage to its women, will have two honor guests at the Atlantic City Convention—Mrs. Joseph M. Carey and Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, whose names shine bright in the annals of the suffrage movement in their state.

It was twenty-six years ago that Wyoming the territory was completing final negotiations with its national government to become Wyoming the state. Woman suffrage had been existent in the territory for twenty years—the territory itself was only seven months older than the suffrage bill. Furthermore, woman suffrage had meant so much to the men of Wyoming that much as they wanted to be citizens of a state of the United States, they were not willing to have the state privileges if their women could not enjoy exactly the same privileges.

Joseph M. Carey was at this time Territorial Delegate to Congress. The proposed Wyoming State Constitution including equal franchise for women was bitterly opposed in Congress and Mr. Carey was making a hard fight for the suffrage clause in the constitution. When the women of the state telegraphed to him at Washington: "Drop us if you must. We can trust the men of Wyoming to enfranchise us after our territory becomes a state," he and his co-workers replied: "We may stay out of the Union a hundred years, but we will come in with our women." They did, and thus the name of Joseph M. Carey added glory to that of his wife, who had always been a tireless worker for the cause of women and women's work in the territory of Wyoming. Mr. Carey afterward became Governor of the state but never in his entire career did he make a more valuable contribution to his state than when he helped to achieve equal suffrage for the women who had been so instrumental in making the territory ready and fit for the dignity of statehood.

Before the Wyoming constitutional convention met, the women had determined to fight for their citizenship. Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard was one of a committee of three to present a petition to the convention for the retention of equal suffrage, which petition was successful. Dr. Hebard is a member of the faculty of the University of Wyoming and one of the States' distinguished citizens. She has spent her life working for the political, educational and moral betterment of Wyoming.

# CONVENTION PROGRAM

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6th, 1916**

MORNING

**St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church.**

**9:30** Convention called to order.
Invocation.
Welcome—Hon. Harry Bacharach, Mayor of Atlantic City.
Program Committee—Mrs. Stanley McCormick.
Local Arrangements Committee—Announcements.
Miss Mary G. Hay, Chairman of National.
Miss L. A. Marvel, Chairman for Atlantic City.
Credentials Committee (preliminary).
Membership Committee—Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw.
Reports of Officers.
Hannah J. Patterson, Corresponding Sec'y and Chairman Organization Committee.
Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, First Vice-President and Chairman Congressional Committee.
Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Second Vice-President, Acting Chairman Program Committee and Chairman Press Dept.
Miss Esther G. Ogden, Third Vice-President and President National Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.
Mrs. James W. Morrisson, Recording Secretary.
Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, Treasurer and Chairman Finance Committee.
Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, First Auditor.
Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, Second Auditor.
Announcement Convention Committees.

AFTERNOON

**2:30** **Three Cornered Debate.**
Each leader shall present her side in a 10-minute address, strictly timed and will be immediately followed by her second in a five minute address. These speeches must be confined to affirmative arguments in behalf of the topic presented. The question will then be thrown open to the floor for free discussion.
No leader or second will be permitted to speak in this time allotted to the floor unless there is no one else who demands the right to speak.
When all have been heard, or when the House demands that the debate be closed, the leaders will be given 10 additional minutes each in which to answer the arguments presented in behalf of the other two sides. They will not be permitted in these closing speeches to make affirmative arguments.

Topic I. Shall the National American Woman Suffrage Association drop work on the Federal Amendment and confine its activities to State Legislation?
Leader—Miss Laura Clay, Kentucky.
Second—Miss Kate Gordon Louisiana.

Topic II. Shall the National American Woman Suffrage Association drop work for State Referenda and concentrate on the Federal Amendment?
Leader—Mrs. Ida Husted Harper.
Second—Mrs. Glendower Evans, Mass.

Topic III. Shall the present policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to work for woman suffrage by "appropriate National and State legislation" be continued?
Leader—Mrs. Raymond Brown, N. Y.
Second—Miss Florence Allen, Ohio.
The alternative amendments to the Constitution will then be put.
I. To strike out the words "appropriate National Legislation."
II. To strike out the words "appropriate State Legislation."
If both are lost, the Constitution remains as it is and the N. A. W. S. A. is pledged to support both Federal and State campaigns.

EVENING

**7:30– 8:30** Executive Council.
**9:00–11:00** Reception Marlborough-Blenheim.
Tendered by Atlantic City Woman Suffrage Club and New Jersey Woman Suffrage Assn.

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7th, 1916**

MORNING

**8:30–9:30** Executive Council—Marlborough-Blenheim.
**9:30** Convention—Nixon's Theatre.
Invocation—Dr. Effie McCullom Jones.
Reading of Minutes.
Credentials Report.
Report Executive Council recommending Plan of work for N. A. W. S. A.
Amendments to Constitution.

AFTERNOON

NIXON'S THEATRE

Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, 1st Vice-Chairman, presiding.
**2:30** THE HANDICAPPED STATES—A Concrete Lesson in Constitutions.
*The Impossibles.*
*The Insuperables.*
*The Inexecutables.*
*The Improbables.*
*The Indubitables.*
*The Inexcusables.*
THE IRREPROACHABLES.
President'sAddress–*The Crisis*–Carrie Chapman Catt.
**7:30** Model Open Air Meeting.

EVENING

NIXON'S THEATER

**8:30** Dixie Evening—Carrie Chapman Catt, presiding.
Mrs. B. J. Cunningham, President Texas Woman Suffrage Association.
Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, President, Kentucky Equal Rights Association.
Mrs. Eugene Reilley, Vice-President, General Federation Women's Clubs, Vice-President North Carolina Woman Suffrage Association.
Mrs. Edward McGehee, President, Mississippi Federation of Women's Clubs.
Dr. Effie McCullom Jones.
Mrs. Lila Mead Valentine, President Virginia Equal Suffrage League.

Mrs. Guilford Dudley, President Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, Incorporated.
Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, Vice-President, Arkansas Woman Suffrage Association.

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th, 1916**

Polls open for Nomination of Primary Officers Marlborough-Blenheim, 8:00–3:00 P. M.

**9:30** Convention—Nixon's Theatre.
Invocation—Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston
Reading of Minutes.
Report Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.
Political Policy.
Campaign Policy.
Election Policy.
Recommendations Executive Council.
All delegates desiring to make new proposals or amendments to the recommendations of the Executive Council concerning these topics will do so after which these three related questions will be open for full and free discussion.

AFTERNOON

**2:30** How and Where to Drive the Entering Wedge.
*City Charters.*
The Campaign of East Cleveland.
The Story of Atlanta.
The openings offered by City Charters.
Miss Florence Allen.
*Referenda.*
West Virginia—Mrs. Ellis A. Yost.
South Dakota—Mrs. John Pyle.
Iowa—Miss Flora Dunlap.
*Legislative Possibilities.*
Report Committee on Presidential Suffrage—Mrs. Robert Huse, N. J.
Is Limited Suffrage Worth While?
(a) As a positive influence for good.
(b) As a step toward full suffrage.
(c) As a help to other States—Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, O.
The Chances Offered by the Illinois Law.
Mrs. Catherine W. McCulloch, Ill.
Other Congressional Openings.
Elections Bill—Miss Laura Clay, Ky.
What Kansas Thinks About Woman Suffrage.
Mrs. W. Y. Morgan, President Kansas Woman Suffrage Association.
Help From the West.
Mrs. Emma Smith Devoe, President Council Women Voters.

EVENING

Why Women Need the Vote.
Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, presiding.
The Call of the Working Woman for the Protection of Woman's Vote.
Mrs. Raymond Robbins, President National Woman's Trade Union League, Chicago.
Mothers in Politics.
Miss Julia Lathrop, Chief National Children's Bureau, Washington.
A Necessary Safeguard to Public Morals.
Dr. Katherine Bement Davis, Chief Parole Commission, N. Y.
The Temperance Cause.
Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, Supt. Franchise National W. C. T. U.
Working Children.
Dr. Owen Lovejoy.
Collection—Mrs. Carl Osterheld, New York.

**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9th, 1916**

Polls open for General Election of Officers. 8:00–3:00 P. M.

MORNING

**9:30** Invocation—Dr. Anna H. Shaw.
Reading of Minutes.
Report Publicity Dept.—Mr. Charles T. Heaslip.
Report Data Dept.—Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd
Report Art Publicity Dept.—Mrs. Thompson Seton.
Declaration of Principles—Resolutions Committee.
Unfinished Business.
New Business.

AFTERNOON

**2:30** Conference Publicity Council.
Conference Congressional Chairman.
Executive Council.

EVENING

Public Meeting. Speakers to be announced.
Collection.

**SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 10th, 1916**

Nixon's Theatre

**3:00** Mrs. David Simpson, Minnesota.
Dr. Effie McCullom Jones, Iowa.
Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Pennsylvania.

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## SUFFRAGE SHOP FOR ATLANTIC CITY.

A Suffrage Shop has been opened on the Board Walk at Atlantic City, where for four weeks the National American Woman Suffrage Association will sell suffrage novelties and literature, and supply all kinds of information in regard to the Convention, which will open on September 6th, at the Nixon Theatre, just two doors from the shop. From 9:30 A. M. to 10:00 P. M. the wares are on sale. Among these are Votes for Women postcards, pencils, stationery, drinking cups, yellow crepe paper caps, streamers and banners, favors, place cards, playing cards, horns, pins, paper napkins, doilies, Kewpies dolls, balloons, and fans. Literature—pamphlets, books and handbills—are also in stock. The windows are later to be dressed in "stunt" fashion.

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## CONTEST DATES ARE CHANGED.

The closing date of the slogan contest which the National American Woman Suffrage Association is conducting has been changed from October 1st to August 15th. The date for the closing of the poster competition has, on the contrary, been postponed until January 1st, 1917. These changes of date have been necessary because of the Emergency Convention upon which all attention is centered just now.

It had been the previous plan of the contest committee to exhibit a collection of the submitted slogans and posters at the annual Convention in November, but when the September date was set, this plan was discarded so far as the posters were concerned, and more ample time was allowed to give both artists and committee an opportunity for more extensive work. Slogans are quicker work, however, and the committee therefore decided to speed up the slogan contest.

# WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH TEXAS?

Texas is the largest State in the Union and numbers 252 counties. It is so big that things may happen in one part of the State and a long time elapse before another part hears of it. The Governor of Texas presented the minority report of the Resolutions Committee at the Democratic Convention in St. Louis, which aimed at the elimination of the suffrage plank. He declared that woman should be content to fulfill the function which God, with the consent of man, had given her. Such expressions were common among governors a half century ago but not now.

What is the matter with Texas that she elects a governor so far behind the general movement of progress? The answer is easily obtained. In fact, all Texas is talking about it, for the Governor is making a campaign for re-election, but it took two years for it to get around.

Texas, like many other States, has been engaged for a dozen years in a lively wet-and-dry fight. The prohibition question has been twice submitted to the State, and local option battles have been never ceasing.

**The Governor is charged with having sent an officer of the bank of which he is President to Fort Worth upon two occasions during his election two years ago and both times he returned with $10,000 in currency which was deposited in his bank for his campaign fund, and upon a third occasion, a check signed by a firm of brewers was deposited. He has been challenged to deny the facts and to explain why a check was not employed in the first two transactions as is customary. The challenge still stands and no denial has been made.**

After his inauguration in 1914, the heads of several brewery firms were arrested upon the charge of conspiracy to control the elections. The trial took place in March, 1916. The brewers paid a fine of $281,000 and all costs, which was a virtual confession of guilt. The testimony revealed facts which should make any honorable American tremble for his country.

**It was proved that there had been criminal activities in the local option elections all over Texas.**

**It was proved that men of respected position and supposed high character had been bought for cash.**

**It was proved that the brewers had criminal political relations with commercial clubs and officials of organized labor.**

**It was proved that there had been a base and widespread purchase of the negro and Mexican vote.**

How much money was spent, no one knows. One St. Louis brewer wrote to the man who had handled the cash, **"I would not mind to give $100,000 extra if necessary."** So many thousands upon thousands of dollars are known to have been collected and paid out in the past five years that the total seems incredible.

Of course, brewers have the right to defend their interests, and they are hard pushed these days. But when any interest buys votes and men, when it tempts the weak and cajoles the rich, when it conspires to overturn democratic government in order to win its way, it ceases to be an "interest" and becomes a criminal.

**Texas is in a political revolution and that is why its Governor, elected by the illegal aid of an election conspiracy, moves to strike out woman suffrage from the Democratic platform.**

# ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT.

## HOW TO MERGE THE OLD FORM OF ORGANIZATION INTO THE NEW FORM

STATE ORGANIZATION.—If a state contains two or more organizations they should agree first to unite on the new method of organization and second to hold their state conventions at the same time and place. Each state organization would then send delegates to its own convention according to its constitution and custom, but it should be agreed that preceding the state conventions, a convention should be held which would represent both associations in the new form of organization. Since we have recommended that the political district form of organization (the newer form) shall be called the Woman Suffrage Party, we will hereafter refer to the new form of organization by that term.

An arbitrary rule should first have been made by a committee representing the two or more state organizations as to the number of delegates each county should be permitted to send to the Woman Suffrage Party convention which is to be held prior to the conventions of the old state organizations. This Party Convention would then adopt a constitution and elect officers. The conventions of the old associations would then meet separately, complete their business and vote to disband, the membership having passed into the new organization.

The constitution of the amalgamated organization (the Woman Suffrage Party) would of necessity be a compromise on all matters held important by either organization, but all delegates must agree upon the democratic form of organization with chairmen for counties, chairmen for cities and towns, chairman for wards, and leaders for precincts; the entire organization being under the direction of a state central committee.

Inasmuch as the old form of organization—the club or league—is usually a town or city organization unconnected with the county, it seems unnecessary to consider how to change the old form of county organization into the new form of county organization, but it would be necessary for each club or league to take certain definite steps to change their organization in every city and town.

LOCAL CLUB OR LEAGUE.—To change such an organization into a political district organization, notice conforming to the league or club's constitution should be sent to all members advising them that a meeting for the consideration of such change is to be held. In case the state organization, of which the club is a part, has already recommended or adopted the newer form of organization, this information should be included in the notice to members. At this called meeting a resolution to disband the old organization and adopt the name and conform to the rules and regulations of the political district organization should be passed. A temporary chairman and secretary should be elected and a committee on permanent organization appointed, said committee to report at a second meeting to be held at a fixed date. At this second meeting the committee on permanent organization should report the rules and regulations of the political district (legislative district, assembly district or county) of which the town under consideration is a part, and should further recommend rules for the conduct of the local affairs of the city or town organization including the method of electing officers. After the adoption of the rules, permanent officers should be elected and the organization in the new form will be ready for work.

If more than one club or league exists in the town, the Executive Committees of the several clubs should appoint representatives on a joint committee which should draft a plan for a joint meeting of all the clubs and leagues, similar to the joint meeting above outlined for state organizations, at which joint meeting the new form of organization should be effected, after which the old organizations should meet separately and disband, voting to merge into the newly established organization.

When the rules and regulations for the new organization have been adopted and the officers elected, the membership of the old organizations should be turned over to the officers of the new organization. These names should all be classified by wards and precincts. The committee of the new organization is then ready to begin organizing its voting precincts according to the plan in our July number.

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## SUMMER SUFFRAGE NOVELTIES
### WITH
### "VOTES FOR WOMEN" SLOGAN

| Best Sellers | *Doz.* | *100* |
|---|---|---|
| Balloons | $.50 | $4.00 |
| Fans with Picture | .25 | 1.75 |
| Fly Swatters | .25 | 1.75 |
| Handkerchiefs | 1.00 | 8.00 |
| Match Booklets | .10 | .75 |
| **Noise Makers** | | |
| Balloons (with whistle) | .75 | 5.00 |
| Crickets (crepe paper rose) | .90 | 7.00 |
| Horns (with map) | .90 | 7.00 |
| **Picnics** | | |
| Doilies (5″ & 6″ diameter) | .05 | .25 |
| Doilies (8″ diameter) | .10 | .50 |
| Drinking Cups (with rhyme) | .10 | .75 |
| Napkins | .05 | .25 |
| **A New Button** | | |
| "Votes for Women—Patriotism" | .10 | .75 |

**National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.**
**171 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK CITY**

## PROGRESS OF THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

64TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.*

*Resolved* by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

### History of Amendment.

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878 by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

*In the Senate:*

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE,

January 12,1915; yeas 174, nays 204.

### Introduced in the 64th Congress

IN THE SENATE,

December 7, 1915, by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and Senator Thompson, of Kansas.

Referred in the Senate to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Reported in the Senate on January 8, with a favorable recommendation.

IN THE HOUSE,

December 6, 1915, by Representatives Raker, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden.

Referred in the House to the Judiciary Committee, and by it to its sub-committee No. 1.

Reported to the Judiciary Committee by the sub-committee on February 15, 1916, with recommendation that the Judiciary Committee report it to the House without recommendation. By a vote of 9 to 7 on February 15, the Judiciary Committee returned the amendment to sub-committee No. 1 with instructions to hold until December 14. On March 14, the Judiciary Committee by unanimous consent agreed to take final Committee action on the amendment on March 28. On March 28, the Judiciary Committee by a vote of 10 to 9 postponed indefinitely all Constitutional amendments.

*Status:*

IN THE SENATE,

On the calendar awaiting action.

IN THE HOUSE,

In the Judiciary Committee.

## WASHINGTON

August 5, 1916.

Debate in the Senate on the various measures considered during the past month has been so protracted that much more time has been consumed in talk than has been desired by the leaders of either party. The result is that such issues as the revenue, appropriation and preparedness measures are still on the calendar and adjournment cannot take place until they are settled. In addition the President insisted that the Child Labor Bill, which had passed the House, must be acted upon at this session, since it is part of the Democratic legislative program. The inclusion of this important measure added further to the pressure on the Senate. It now seems that adjournment will not occur until the first week in September.

Each further postponement of adjournment adds to the complications of the Senators who come up for re-election in November, the number being thirty-two, or one-third of the Senate. In addition the places of Senator Shively of Indiana and Senator Burleigh of Maine, who died during the Session, are to be filled, making thirty-four in all to be elected this Fall. Of this number in the last Congress ten voted "Yes" on our Amendment, sixteen voted "No" and eight did not vote. It is essential for these men who come up for re-election to return soon to their states to start their own campaigns. Some have already left Washington, not to return until December. Senator Sutherland of Utah left Washington on July 22. Senator Poindexter of Washington is another Senator who has been obliged to return to his state and will not return until December. Since it has been impossible to get our measure to a vote up to this time, it may develop that it will be wiser to defer the vote until the winter, so that we can have the full strength of our vote in attendance.

In order to bring our measure to a vote in the Senate unanimous consent is required. The fact that one man can prevent the taking of a vote makes the difficulty of the situation obvious. The regular opposition to suffrage has been strengthened by the activity of certain suffragists who are also trying to prevent a vote in the Senate now.

In July Honorable Hunter Moss, member from West Virginia, died after a long illness. Judge Moss was a member of the Judiciary Committee and one of the best friends that suffrage had in Congress. On a number of occasions in the spring, when our measure was under consideration in the Committee, Judge Moss at great personal sacrifice and often in pain attended the meetings of the Committee and strove in every way to secure a favorable report for us. His place on the Committee has not yet been filled.

We have not to date succeeded in getting our measure considered again by the Committee, but continue to press for a report.

As stated on another page of this issue, Mrs. Catt and I interviewed President Wilson on August 1 with regard to the amendment. The President was most cordial, and we had a long interview. His position on the Federal amend-

ment is at present unchanged, and he still feels that the best method to secure woman suffrage is by state action. It is a well known fact in Washington that President Wilson prides himself on being open-minded on all public questions. In the past he has entirely changed his position on important issues, and we still hope that he will be won to the advocacy of the Federal amendment before long.

Our Committee has begun to interview by letter all candidates for the Senate and House. In each letter sent to a candidate is a blank form containing three questions on which an answer is requested. The questions are:

1. Are you in favor of woman suffrage?
2. If elected will you vote in Congress to submit to the states a federal amendment to enfranchise the women of this country?
3. If appointed on a committee in whose jurisdiction such an amendment should fall, will you do all in your power to expedite the passage of such a measure?

Our Committee has asked every state organization to put its machinery in motion also to interview every candidate. As a result of our campaign with the candidates we expect a decided increase in the number of supporters of the Federal amendment.

JENNIE BRADLEY ROESSING.

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## FINANCE

**Donations Received from July 1st to July 31st, 1916.**

**WASHINGTON PLEDGES**

| | |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Lewis Laurence Smith | $ 5 00 |
| Maryland Woman Suffrage Association | 25 00 |
| Annie E. Trumbull | 25 00 |
| Mrs. Stanley McCormick | 1,000 00 |
| Mrs. Carrie C. Catt | 1,340 74 |
| Alabama Equal Suffrage Association | 250 00 |
| Dr. Mary B. Jewett | 25 00 |
| " " " " (50 boxes oranges) | 86 00 |
| Miss M. Carey Thomas | 575 00 |
| Alice T. Jenkins | 15 00 |
| Mrs. H. Edward Dreier | 50 00 |
| New Hampshire Equal Suffrage Association | 100 00 |
| Ohio Woman Suffrage Assn. (Nashville Pl.) | 50 00 |
| Mrs. Winston Churchill | 235 00 |
| Anthony League, D. of C. | 10 00 |
| George W. Buckner | 5 00 |
| | $ 3,796 74 |

**GENERAL DONATIONS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Lawrence, Kansas, City Federation | $ 5 00 |
| Adella Potter | 300 00 |
| Mrs. Frank Snell | 5 00 |
| Mrs. Abby Bartlett | 100 00 |
| Tuscaloosa Equal Suffrage Associaton | 5 00 |
| Equal Suffrage League of North Carolina | 5 00 |
| Mrs. Willard Straight | 100 00 |
| Katherine D. Hamilton | 25 00 |
| Mrs. Arthur Rotch | 25 00 |
| Mrs. Florence Inman | 60 00 |
| Edna Cornell Wilson | 5 00 |
| Katherine Boyles | 5 00 |
| Huntsville, Ala., Equal Suffrage Association | 5 00 |
| | $ 645 00 |

**DUES**

| | |
|---|---|
| Georgia Woman Suffrage League | $ 20 00 |
| Alabama Equal Suffrage Association | 16 00 |
| North Dakota Votes for Women League | 31 20 |
| Ohio Woman Suffrage Association | 150 00 |
| Louisiana State Suffrage Association | 100 00 |
| Friends Equal Rights Association | 7 00 |
| Arkansas Woman Suffrage Association | 20 00 |
| Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association | 150 00 |
| Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association | 500 00 |
| Just Government League of Maryland | 20 00 |
| New Jersey Women's Political Union | 200 00 |
| West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association | 120 00 |
| Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore | 20 00 |
| State Equal Suffrage Assn. of D. of Co. | 6 80 |
| Iowa Equal Suffrage Association | 100 00 |
| New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association | 220 00 |
| Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association | 68 30 |
| | $ 1,749 30 |

**CAMPAIGNS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Equal Suffrage Assn., Birmingham | $ 25 00 |
| Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw | 100 00 |
| Mr. George R. White | 100 00 |
| Mrs. John C. Lee | 100 00 |
| A Friend, through Mrs. Magoun | 12 00 |
| A Friend | 1,600 00 |
| Mrs. Quincy Shaw | 5,000 00 |
| | $ 6,937 00 |
| TOTAL | $13,128.04 |

## PRESIDENT WILSON WILL PROBABLY ATTEND CONVENTION

Both President Wilson and Mr. Hughes have been invited to attend the emergency-called convention in Atlantic City. Up to the time the News Letter went to press no reply had been received from Mr. Hughes, who is campaigning in the West, but a friendly letter has arrived from President Wilson in which he says that he sincerely wishes to attend the convention and will try to arrange his itinerary so that he can address the delegates in Atlantic City on the night of September the 8th. The President's letter reads as follows:—

"My dear Mrs. Catt:

I very much value and appreciate your kind letter of August 7th, inviting me to address the National American Woman Suffrage on September 8th next during its 48th Annual Convention, and wish to assure you that my desire will be to accept the invitation.

I say 'my desire' because I am not sure as yet of my liberty on that date. I am to go to Kentucky early in September to accept for the Nation the gift of the Lincoln Birthplace and I have made conditional promises in connection with that journey which make it somewhat uncertain when I shall be again within reach of Atlantic City, but I shall try.

I hope it will not inconvenience you to leave the matter in this shape for the moment, since I sincerely wish to come.

Cordially yours,
(Signed) WOODROW WILSON."

—:o:—

Both of the leading political parties in West Virginia, where a suffrage referendum will be voted on in November, have come out with strong endorsements of votes for women in their State platforms.

Following an address delivered before their State Convention in Clarkesburg on August 3rd, by Mrs. Catt, the Democrats adopted the following plank:

"The woman suffrage amendment has been submitted to a vote of the people, and while we do not desire to bind the individual voter, it is the conviction of this Convention that the pending amendment should be ratified."

The Republican party has also adopted a satisfactory plank. It reads:

"The Republican Party submitted to a vote of the people of West Virginia an amendment to our State Constitution giving women the right to vote. It is the belief of this Convention that the best purposes of Government will be advanced by the widest participation in public affairs of all intelligent citizens, and we do not believe that the power to participate wisely in public affairs is limited to sex."

—:o:—

**OYEZ! OYEZ! OYEZ!**

**We are glad to have articles from the Headquarters News Letter reprinted in other suffrage publications, but we ask that in addition to using the name of the author, due credit be given in every instance to the "Headquarters News Letter" of N. A. W. S. A.**

# "DIXIE NIGHT" SPEAKERS

# THE DATA DEPARTMENT

By Mary Sumner Boyd

## MALE SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

*(Last month this article was printed in error as "Concluded")*

†In southern states, the choice is indicated by a star. ‡In states not indicated, the residence requirement is one year.

| Name of State | Education | Property Tax or Poll Tax | Alternatives† | Miscellaneous‡ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | A.* Able to read and write any article of Constitution in English; and regularly engaged in lawful employment for greater part of preceding year. | Prepayment of poll tax due since 1901. B.* Ownership and payment of taxes on 40 acres of land on which he resides; or property assessed at $300. | Permanently registered as voters: 1. All men who served in any war of U. S. before 1898, in Confed. States or Alabama, or 2. Descendants of such, or 3. Persons of good moral character who understand duties of citizens of Republic. | Two years residence in State required. |
| Arizona. | | Only property tax-payers may vote at school or tax elections. | | |
| Arkansas | | Prepayment of poll tax. | | Registration requirement prohibited. Aliens who have taken out first papers can vote. |
| Cal..... | Read Const. in Eng. and write name. Does not apply to those having vote in 1911. | Property qualification prohibited. | | |
| Colorado | Legislature authorized to prescribe tests by law. But 1890 electors cannot be disfranchised. | | | Vote by mail. |
| Conn... | Read any Article of Conn. Const. in Eng. or any sect. of Statutes. | | | |
| Del..... | Persons 21 years old after 1900 must read Del. Const. in English and write name. | Poll tax on male citizens. | | Aliens who have taken out first papers can vote. |
| Florida.. | | Prepayment of Capitation tax. | | |
| Georgia. | | Prepayment of all taxes regularly since 1877. C.* Ownership of 40 acres of Georgia land on which he resides; or property of $500. | C.* All who served in war of U. S. or Confed. or Ga. D.* All descendants of same E.* Persons of good moral character, understanding duties of citizens of Republic. | |

The moral requirements imposed on voters by the southern states are no less distinctive than the educational.

Moral tests did not die with the religious tests of the early days. Practically all the 48 states today lay down some moral requirements, many of them impossible to enforce. These cover a wide field, including betting, bigamy, arson, burglary, wife-beating, murder, bankruptcy, treason, malfeasance in office, cheating at elections, felony and every other crime or irregularity under the sun. On the whole, in the western and northern states dishonesty in public life is accentuated; in the patriarchal South, where the family is on the whole more dominant, sexual irregularities have more prominence.

In addition to requirements of this sort two southern states have distinctive moral or character tests included among the alternatives from which the negro has to choose. Thus in Alabama, if he has no property, he has, as part of the educational qualifications, to give evidence of "regular work in a lawful employment for the greater part of the preceding year."*

In the same state and Georgia he must be "a person of good moral character who understands the duties of a citizen of the republic." These are requirements which can be interpreted freely and can be pressed or not according to the will of election officials.

A few other states have qualifications, which are too vague to enforce but which are so quaint as to be reminiscent of Colonial days. Thus no less than eight states disqualify a duellist, Connecticut requires a "good moral character" and "a quiet and peaceable behavior." Vermont also requires, as does Virginia, that voters have "an attachment and interest in the community."

Seven states disqualify prisoners as such, but while conviction of crime is a permanent disability in New Jersey, some states specially provide that a prison sentence once served shall not thereafter disqualify a voter.

Mississippi, which attempts to punish the unjust by depriving of the vote a person once convicted of crime, essays also to reward the just by setting a very short residence requirement for ministers, and South Carolina pays a like premium to this class and to school teachers.

Idaho denies polygamists the right to vote, thus driving home the federal regulations in regard to this form of marriage. To this class Idaho adds, "anyone who teaches that the laws of this State prescribing civilized conduct are not the supreme law of the land."

California and Idaho disfranchise the Chinese, the Idaho provision covering also persons of Mongolian descent. California, which at that time had almost two-thirds of the Chinese in America, disfranchised them in 1879. It would seem as if at that time this race should have come within the scope of the 15th amendment, but even before the exclusion laws they had been regarded as ineligible to citizenship in the United States. Many states had admitted them to citizenship however, and in May, 1882, a federal statute provided that

> "Hereafter no state court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship."

There are still many thousand American-born-Chinese voters.

The untaxed Indian on the reservation is a ward, not a citizen, but the Amendment of May 8, 1906, to the Federal Allotment Act of 1887, expressly provides that those who have left the reservation and adopted habits of civilization, even though they retain also their tribal rights, shall have the citizen rights of natives of the United States. Many western state constitutions make mention of Indians in somewhat the terms of the Federal Laws, but some states lay down rather stringent conditions for giving voting citizenship to this race. Rhode Island forever disfranchises by Constitutional provision the Narragansett Tribe. This is in the face of the fact that the application of the citizenship clause of the Federal Act lies not with Congress but with the Secretary of the Interior who has within recent years endowed whole tribes with citizenship in the United States.

Short or long residence requirements and special natu-

*In many states besides the south, paupers, and in some, tramps, are disqualified.

ralization provisions show whether or not a state wants to attract settlers. In the very early days some of the states laid little stress on citizenship or length of residence. Maine required and still requires only three months. Some were slack, too, in regard to age requirements, though New Hampshire erred in the other direction and set the high limit of 24 years. Today the limit is assumed, even if not stated, to be 21 years.

In the Know Nothing 40's the eastern states became more any more stringent in regard to naturalization and residence. But in this same period Michigan and other midwestern states came into the Union with only six months residence requirement, and thinly settled Florida, together with some western states, required of voters no more than first papers, or intention to become citizens.

In all, 15 states were at one time or another thus liberal to foreign settlers. Today seven still retain this provision* and ten states still require six months or less residence.* In contrast to these wide-open doors Rhode Island and six southern states now require two years residence,* others require a greater or less period to elapse between naturalization and voting.

Kansas first, in 1913, and since then 12 other states*, have made voting easy by allowing absentees to mail their ballots. This applies in some states only to a few classes of voters, in others to many. It is the only way to make practical the provision found in very many constitutions that absence from state or precinct of soldiers, sailors or public officials shall not entail loss of citizenship. It should apply in all states to all enforced absentees; the voter often absent from home in the course of his work has always, in all countries, had a just grievance.

The commercial traveler has expressed this grievance more frequently than others, but there are many classes perpetually disfranchised by the nature of their work. Among these are actors on the road, workers in transportation, agricultural laborers, lumbermen, roadmakers or workers in many public works in contract camps, those workers who migrate with the canning industry from Florida to Maine as the seasons change, other workers in seasonal trades, bridge builders and many others in the building trades.

No one has ever tried to estimate the extent to which manual labor is migratory—or actually "fluid"—in the classical economists' phrase—but there is little doubt that residence requirements bear more heavily on this than on other classes of voters in the community.

Some newspapers have chosen to make a joke of voting by mail, others have exaggerated its difficulties and possibilities of corruption, which are more amply provided against in the provisions of the mail-voting states than is corruption of home voters by local political machines. The problem of residence requirements is not an insignificant one, but one of great importance in a democracy.

Next to the residence requirement as an unintentional method of disfranchisement is the confusing machinery of registration.

From the 50's on registration began to be required in one state after another, until today it is a necessary preliminary in all but Arkansas and West Virginia. By the 90's the difficulties and perplexities of this prerequisite of voting had cut considerably into the number of votes.

The case against the complexity of the elections of the present day is very well stated in the recent report of the Chicago Election Commissioners, who give figures showing that the registered vote of Chicago increased only 135% in the twenty years, 1896–1915.

"The percentage of persons registered out of the number possible," says the report, "shows practically a steady decline during the years covered.

"The percentage of votes cast, based on the actual registered vote, indicates no increase in the voting sentiment—rather the opposite.

"As the law now stands registrations are at such short intervals that the average voter is often in doubt whether he is registered or not, or if registered whether the registration holds good for the succeeding election or the primary. It is undoubtedly true that the multiplicity of registration and revision days has rather hindered than promoted registration of voters, and very certainly they confuse and annoy the electorate out of all proportion to any possible special benefits."

*(Text and table will be concluded next month.)*

| Name of State | Education | Property Tax or Poll Tax | Alternatives† | Miscellaneous‡ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Idaho... | | Property qualification prohibited in Const. except for vote on school question or indebtedness. | | Six months residence in state required. No polygamist can vote |
| Illinois.. | | | | |
| Indiana. | | | | Six months residence in state required. Aliens who have taken out first papers can vote. |
| Iowa.... | | | | Vote by mail |
| Kansas . | | Property qualification prohibited. | | Six months residence in state required. Aliens who have taken out first papers can vote. Vote by mail |
| Ky..... | | Prepayment of Poll Tax in cities where required. | | |
| La ..... | A.* Read and write. Must write 75 word application for registration. | B. Ownership of and prepayment of taxes on La. property, not less than $300. Exhibit Poll Tax receipts for 2 years preceding election. | C.* Special regulation (1898) gave permanent right to males who could vote in any state in 1867; or son or grandson of same; or foreign born, naturalized in U. S. before Jan. 1, 1898. Restriction of registration to above date removed in 1912. | Two years residence in State required. |
| Maine... | Read Const. in Eng. and write name. Does not apply to those sixty years old in 1893. | | | Three months residence in State required |
| Md..... | | | | |
| Mass... | Read Const. in English and write name. | Prepayment of poll tax. | | |
| Mich.... | | | | Six months residence in State required. Vote by mail. |
| Minn... | | Property qualification prohibited. | | Six months residence in State required. Vote by mail. |
| Miss..... | Read any Sect. of Miss. Constitution, or understand and give reasonable interpretation (1892). | Payment of all taxes for previous two years by Feb. 1—of year he votes. Prepayment of poll tax. | | Two years residence in State required. |
| Mo..... | | | | Aliens who have taken out final papers may vote. Vote by mail. |

*See Schedule.